Common Safety the Cauſe and Foundation of *Human Society*; or an Examination of the RIGHTS *of Individuals to Perſonal* SECURITY, and how far thoſe Rights may extend *to the altering, diſſolving*, or *forſaking* any GOVERNMENT, that ſhall cheriſh *Murderers*.

AN ANNIVERSARY

SERMON,

PREACHED IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF

St. Mary, Newington Butts, in *Surry*;

ON WHITSUNDAY, 1769;

Being the Sequel to that occaſioned by the Murder of

Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN the Younger,

On the Bloody Tenth of MAY, 1768;

AND

Publiſhed at the Requeſt of his Friends as a *Remembrancer*, to prevent the *Continuation* of POLITICAL MURDER.

BY JOHN FREE, D.D.

Vicar of EAST COKER, in SOMERSETSHIRE; Sir JOHN LEMAN'S Lecturer of St. MARY HILL, LONDON; and Lecturer of NEWINGTON BUTTS.

The LAWS of *Society* being eſtabliſhed for the Preſervation and Convenience of Mankind, they are never to be interpreted in ſuch a Manner, as to admit of the Hurt of any *particular* Perſon: When therefore any one gives me Apprehenſion of my *Deſtruction*, [exitio meo imminet] or hangs over me for my *Deſtruction*, no *Law* can command me to betray my own Safety ſo far, as to ſuffer another's Villainy to be carried with *Impunity* to Exceſs——

For I am not ſure but that he may paſs from thoſe Injuries to *greater:* and the Man, that has declared himſelf an *Enemy*, has no *Security* from the Law, to hinder me from doing with him, *as I will.*

PUFFENDORF, of the Duties of a Man and a Member of a Commonwealth, Book I. C. v. Latin Edit. Cam.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR: and Sold by WILLIAM BINGLEY, in the King's Bench Priſon; and at his Houſe, the *Britannia*, oppoſite *Durham Yard*, in the Strand; I. FELL, No. 14, in Pater-Noſter-Row; and Mrs. SHEPHERD, at the *Stones End*, SOUTHWARK; and by all the Bookſellers in Town and Country.

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THE

DEDICATION.

To the AUTHORS of

Certain late ADDRESSES, &c.

TOOLS, SLAVES, and SYCOPHANTS,

AS you have lately made ſeveral Attempts to delude the People at a Diſtance from the *Capital*, by the fulſome Flatteries, and Falſhoods contained in your *Spurious* and *Mock* ADDRESSES, which, to the Diſgrace of this Nation, have lately been *expoſed* in *Print*: ſuffer us, as the Friends of *Truth*—the *Laws*, —and the *Conſtitution*,—for the Sake of *publick Information*, which has always a very great Influence upon the *publick* GOOD; ſuffer us, I ſay, in the Midſt of this your *Cloud* of Flattery, to bring to Light ſome of thoſe *hidden Things of Darkneſs*, which operating *ſecretly*, and under the *Veil* of your *falſe Colourings*, may

 otherwiſe

otherwiſe be productive of very *fatal Conſequences*; I mean thoſe INDULGENCES to *Murder*, which you call *mild and gentle* GOVERNMENT, and thoſe *Evaſions* of the LAWS, by rejecting *Indictments* in *Capital* Caſes, which not only hinder the well-being, but even endanger the very *Exiſtence* of a STATE.

To expoſe your Want of *Integrity* therefore in Matters of ſuch high Importance, and to do ſome Juſtice to my *bleeding Country*; I publiſh this Diſcourſe, with a Regiſter in the Appendix, containing a brief Hiſtory of ſome ſuch Tranſactions, as appeared at the End of the SERMON, which I preached laſt Year upon the Murder of Mr. *Allen*; whereby the World may judge, whether the MEN, who ſeem to be ſo much the *Objects* of your ADORATION, and to whom you burn ſuch *Incenſe* as is a *Stench in the Noſtrils* of all the *good People* of ENGLAND, deſerve all thoſe *Eaſtern Proſtrations*, thoſe high ENCOMIUMS and THANKSGIVINGS, which you have ſo plentifully, though we cannot ſay *unſollicitedly*, beſtowed upon them.

The *Generality* of the World differ greatly from you in Opinion, and believe, that you will find it very difficult to give *Truth* and *Reality* to not only the *Ideal Bleſſings*, you pretend to receive; but alſo to *Perſons* and *Characters*, to whom you profeſs ſuch high Obligations.

For excepting what we gather from their *Meaſures* of Government, and publick Conduct (which are all a dead Weight againſt them,

them, let them be who they will) we think, conſidering their many impenetrable Arts of *Hypocriſy* and *Concealment*, and the great *Neceſſity* there often is of being *concealed*, that it is almoſt as hard for you to fix and aſcertain the *Perſonage* or Character of what we call the *Miniſtry*, or *Prime Miniſter*, as that of the ancient *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* KINGS, who, according to * *Juſtin*, and other Authors, were ſo immured in the *Palace*, or locked up in the *Gardens*, that it was impoſſible for the People to know whether they were *Men* or *Women*, or whether they had *Eyes*, *Ears*, or *Underſtanding*, till their *Reign* was at an End.

The *worſhipping*, therefore, of theſe *hidden* IDOLS, who borrow all their *Majeſty* from *Inviſibility*, and who can reign no longer than while their *Tricks*, and Perſons, can be well concealed, was in itſelf, to ſay the leaſt of it, a moſt contemptible Kind of *Idolatry*, a Proneneſs to *worſhipping*, though *you knew not what:* but the Attempt to enlarge the Error,

* Thus *Semiramis* governed for poor *Ninyas*, while the deluded People thought it was her SON; till, coming to the Uſe of his Underſtanding, at the Age of 40 Years, he cut her off. After the ſame Manner, in ſucceeding Times, *Oropaſtes* the *Magian*, perſonated and uſed the Name of *Smerdis*, which Things (ſays the *Hiſtorian*) being ſuſpected by *Oſtanes* a noble *Perſian*, and a Man of deep Sagacity in his Conjectures, he ſent a Meſſage to his Daughter, who was detained as one of the *Royal Whores*, or *Maids of Honour*, to know if it was actually the *Son* of CYRUS that was KING? She anſwered, "that ſhe "neither knew herſelf, neither was it poſſible to get Informa- "tion from others, as the Women were all ſhut up in different "Apartments by themſelves."—He then orders her *to examine the Head of him*, when he fell aſleep; upon which Examination, ſhe made this *Surprizing Diſcovery*, namely,—"That *the King* "had really *no Ears!*"—See *Juſtin*, Book I.

and

and to offer up *Falſehood* inſtead of *Truth*, was TREASON againſt *Society*, which had a manifeſt Tendency to overturn the STATE.

For ſuppoſing your *Fellow-Subjects* had been ſo far ſeduced by your *Influence* and Example, as to have been *Partakers* in your CRIME,—it is very evident that by proſtituting *public Approbation*, they muſt have promoted a *general Deception*, and thereby given a Sanction to the *worſt of Meaſures*, abetted and defended by the *worſt of Men*.

Look back, I beſeech you, through the *Annals* of the *Reigns* of the two firſt illuſtrious PRINCES of the *Houſe* of HANOVER, in which *Houſe* we have a Right to expect (as the Patrimony which we have given them is one of the nobleſt in the World) and in which *Houſe*, we are determined to find, in ſpite of all *Abettors* of TYRANNY, a * PROTECTOR of our *Laws*,

* Although the *Author* of this SERMON has fully made out in ſeveral of his *Political* Works, that, ſuppoſing there were any ſuch Thing as *Hereditary* Right to this Crown, that ſuch Right would belong to the Houſe of *Brunſwick*; and has exhibited at one View in a *Genealogical* Table at the End of his ſecond *Antigallican* SERMON, the ſeveral *Connexions* of that *Houſe*, as well with the Founders of the *Kingdom of* ENGLAND, as alſo with the *Princes* who have worn the *Crown* both of *England* and *Scotland*, not only before the *Marriage* of his Majeſty's Anceſtor with the *Family*, who take the Name of *Stuart*, from bearing the Office of *Steward* to the *Scotch* king, but even before the *Exiſtence* of ſuch a *Family*: yet, notwithſtanding all this, he is of opinion, that ſuch a *Right* hath hardly ever been regarded but as a Matter of *Courteſy* and *Complaiſance* to PRINCES; which therefore can never ſupport them in any *Claim*, without the *Conſent of the People* obtained upon *other Motives*. Becauſe he is well aſſured, from ancient Hiſtory, that by our old CONSTITUTION, the *Engliſh* KINGS were

Laws and *Liberties*;—Look back through their Annals, I ſay, and ſhew me if you can, any the leaſt Traces of—* *long premeditated* POLITICAL *Murders*——or *Murders* of any Kind, ſo openly, ſo *avowedly* authoriſed, or ſo *wantonly* pardoned, as we ſee them now,—pardoned in direct Oppoſition to a Law ſo expreſs and rigorous in demanding ſpeedy Puniſhment, that our late *Gracious* SOVEREIGN, a Prince of great MERCY, but at the ſame Time of as great JUSTICE, would not in a Caſe of MURDER, though committed through *Phrenzy*, extend that *Forgiveneſs* to one of the † firſt *Nobles* of the Land, doubly deſcended from our ancient *Engliſh* KINGS, which is now *inſolently* indulged (becauſe they have been the moſt effectual Inſtruments of Tyranny) to People who are the very *Nuiſance of Society*, and the Scum of the Earth.—I ſay, becauſe they have been the *moſt effectual Inſtruments of* TYRANNY,—for can there be an Inſtance of TYRANNY of a *deeper Dye*, or of more *dangerous Conſequence* than—the *driving of the* Engliſh *Subjects, by* MURDER, *from the Choice of their own* REPRESENTATIVES?—a Privilege ſo eſſential to the *Security*

were all of them *Temporary Magiſtrates*, like the Dutch STADTHOLDER, or the old *Roman* DICTATOR; and that the Office went from one *Family* to another; juſt as the Abilities of the Man made him more or leſs capable of ſerving the Publick; as may be ſeen in a *Political* Poem of the *Author's*, called the *Voluntary Exile*, ſold by *William Bingley*, oppoſite Durham Yard, in the STRAND.

* See Numb. II. and III. of the *Appendix* to this SERMON.

† Lord *Ferrers*.

of

of their LIVES and LIBERTIES, that whenever it is taken from them, they muſt lie at the *Mercy* of their *Maſters*, to be at their Pleaſure either *murthered*, or *enſlaved*.

For ſuppoſing at any Time, in a Caſe of MURDER, that the *Laws* ſhould be ſuperſeded by the *Artifice* of a JUDGE, or that the KING ſhould pardon it——what *Security* would there then remain for your *Lives and Liberties?* If an *Houſe of* COMMONS, inſtead of being the *Repreſentatives* of the PEOPLE, to aſſiſt them in demanding *Juſtice*, ſhould appear upon ſuch an Occaſion to be the *Creatures* of *another* POWER, and turn a deaf Ear to the Cries of a *Fellow-Subject's* Blood?

And can you ſee nothing in the *preſent* Management of Things, which is *ſimiliar* to this? What was the Caſe upon the Murder of that innocent young Victim, *Mr. Allen?* What was the Caſe, to ſay nothing now of the MASSACRE in *St. George's Fields*, what was the Caſe upon the more recent MURDER of *Mr. Clark* and *Mr. Hopkins?*—Bluſh, then, and be aſhamed, ye vile *Deluders of yourſelves*, and *Deluders of* MANKIND.—Are theſe the *Circumſtances* of the Times, which you can glory in, and make the Subject of *Praiſe*, and *Panegyrick?* When they ought rather to be accompanied with Publick *Mourning*, with *Penitence*, *Faſting*, and *Lamentation*.

Could you, with the Face of AMALEKITES, go into the *Royal Preſence* DELICATELY? When the SWORD *had made* ſo many *Women childleſs*;

childleſs; when there was not only ſuch COMPLAINING, but ſuch HOWLING *in our Streets?* I ſay, was this the Seaſon to deceive that Majeſty, you profeſs to revere, by giving him *falſe Information*, and paying *Addreſſes* to his THRONE, with a *Lie in your Right Hand?*

You may think, perhaps, that I have urged theſe Matters with ſome Degree of *Vehemence*; but the Caſe demands it. ZEAL in the *Cauſe* of LIBERTY is a *public* VIRTUE in which I have been *trained up from a Child*; and, therefore, it is no Wonder, if, when *I am Old, I ſhould not depart from it.* It is a VIRTUE generally *diſintereſted*; and often found to be of greater Service to the PERSON, whoſe Cauſe it *eſpouſes*, than to the Perſon whoſe good QUALITY *it is.* As for the Share, which I poſſeſs of it, it has had it's *Uſes*, and may have them again——it engaged me in the Service of the Houſe of HANOVER, and lent them no contemptible Aſſiſtance in a *dangerous* REBELLION,——and it will be well employed, if, by reſcuing the KING out of the Hands of FLATTERERS, *as my Duty is*, it ſhould prevent the like Misfortune from happening again. I am, with good Wiſhes for your Reformation,

Your Servant upon Occaſion, &c.

Newington-Butts,
May 15, 1769.

A N

Anniverſary Sermon,

For the Tenth of MAY, 1769, againſt *Political* MURDER.

GENESIS, CHAP. iv. VERSE 14.

Behold thou haſt driven me out this Day from the Face of the Earth, and from thy Face ſhall I be hid, and I ſhall be a Fugitive *and a* Vagabond *in the Earth; and it ſhall come to paſs,* that every one, that findeth me, ſhall ſlay me.

YOU have in theſe Words ſome Account of the heavy Sentence, and bitter Agonies of *Cain*, after the Commiſſion of a Crime the moſt horrid upon Reflexion, and moſt ſhocking to human Nature, the Deſtruction of a Fellow-Creature—the *Image of God* in one Senſe ——and, the Wickedneſs of his *Diſpoſition* excepted, in every other Reſpect, the * *Image* of Himſelf.

* *Nihil eſt unum uni tam ſimile, tam par quàm omnes inter noſmet ipſos ſumus.*—Cicero. *Perdendus mei ſimilis*—Puffendorf.

What

What adds Something to the *Terror* naturally conceived upon ſuch an Occaſion, was the *Novelty* of the Offence, it being the *firſt* Tranſgreſſion of the Kind that we read of in Hiſtory; and, therefore, not only more affecting to the Murderer himſelf, but alſo to the Beholders, who, from this firſt Outrage upon Humanity, muſt begin to look upon the World as a curſed Habitation, having ſuch a Spectacle before their Eyes as *Man* deſtroying *Man*—Creatures the firſt in Dignity in the viſible Creation, juſt recent, as it were, from the Hands of their Creator, and yet the one defeating the Purpoſe of the other's Being, and extinguiſhing in his *Brother*, and that Brother's *Poſterity*, a then conſiderable Part of Human Race.

Was the *firſt* STATE of NATURE then, a STATE of *War?* and Men in *ſingle* SETTLEMENTS, and OCCUPATIONS, neceſſarily in a State of *Danger* and *Enmity?* Could RELIGION do nothing to prevent Bloodſhed?—And was the only Remedy to be found for theſe *Evils* the *friendly* Succour of a COMMUNITY, and the *additional Power* derived from ASSOCIATION, and a *Commonwealth?*

This ſhould ſeem, by what is here related, to have been the CASE; and that in thoſe very early Times the *Inſtinct* of NATURE, aſſiſted by the *Dawnings* of REASON, pointed out to Men, that RELIGION, unleſs it were *genuine*, could not of itſelf be depended upon as an *Inſtrument* of *Peace* and *Quietneſs:* But that the *chief*, if not the only *publick Security* for their PERSONS, or PROPERTY, was to be found in the *wholeſome* LAWS of a *good* COMMUNITY, it appearing from this Hiſtory, that Religion might be pro-

ductive of *Diviſions*, and conſequently of *Diſorders*. For by what we can gather from hence, it ſeems in one Family to have been diſtinguiſhed into two *Kinds*, namely, the *Religion* of thoſe, who called themſelves the SONS OF GOD, and the *Religion* of thoſe who were ſtyled the *Sons of Men*; of one of which *Sects* ABEL was ſuppoſed to have been the Head; and of the other CAIN; and their Opinions in this Reſpect moſt likely oppoſite: it being very evident from the *Relation* of the FACT, that it was ſome Matter of Religion, which had made the Difference between the two Brethren.

The NEUTRALS therefore (for ſuch a *Party*, there is Reaſon from the *Context* to believe there was) obſerving, that though Religion, when *true* and *genuine*, may be a *ſtrong* and *natural* OBLIGATION upon the *Wiſe* and *Good*, who ſee its *Foundations*, yet as it may be ſometimes *falſe* in itſelf, and then attended with *Superſtition*, *Enthuſiaſm*, and *Perſecution*; at other Times, though *good* in it's Kind, yet aſſented to only in *Appearance*, and then *deluſive* and *hypocritical*, not operating to *good Works*, in which Reſpect we find, that the *Methodiſtick* Religion of * CAIN, notwithſtanding his *Sacrifice*, had been defective, they grew diffident of ſuch a *precarious* INSURANCE for *common Honeſty*, chooſing rather to ſecure themſelves by *uniting* in Society, building *Cities*, and eſtabliſhing *Rules*, and *Ordinances* for the Defence of their *Perſons*, and *Properties*, and lodging a Power in the Hands of ſome publick Officers for upholding and main-

† See Ver. 5, 6, 7; and for the Character of *Cain* and his Religion, the Appendix, Numb. I.

taining

taining the LAWS, which were to *protect* them.

From the *Regulations* of ſome of theſe *well-ordered* Societies, who by Reaſon of the growing *Barbarity*, and *Inſecurity* of the Times, might be very vigilant againſt a *Fugitive*, CAIN ſeems to have had the greateſt Apprehenſion of Danger—*I ſhall be a Fugitive*, ſays he, *and a Vagabond in the Earth*, and *it ſhall come to paſs that every one, that findeth me, ſhall ſlay me.*

This *forlorn* and *reſtleſs* Condition of a FUGITIVE, driven from Place to Place like a wild Beaſt from the Deſert, and conſtantly denied Reception, is no more than the natural *Conſequence* of committing MURDER. The whole *Species* are alarmed at the *Approach* of ſuch a Monſter, they ſhun him as a *Lion*, that *ſpares no Man in his Rage*, arm themſelves againſt him as a *publick* Enemy, that can neither be *truſted* nor *reclaimed*; and if they ſlay him, *think that they are doing God Service*, by removing the *common* Diſturber of the PEACE of *Mankind*.

CAIN, therefore, to avoid the Dangers, which ſurrounded him in the Parts already inhabited, went and dwelt in the Land of ‡ NOD, perhaps a Deſert, ſo called from his Wanderings, whoſe

‡ LXX in Terrâ *Naid*. Hieron. in *Tradit.* ait *Nod* interpretari σαλευόμενος, i. e. *fluctuans, et inſtabilis, ac ſedis incertæ*, non eſt igitur (inquit) Terra *Naid*, ut vulgus noſtrorum putat—Sic VULGAT. *habitavitque profugus in Terrâ.*——Chald. באפעא גלי ומטלטל In *Terrâ Exul & vagus.* R. Salom. exponit in Terrâ, ubi omnes Exules vagantur. *Mercero* ſimpliciùs videtur *Nod* Loci Nomen eſſe, ſed qui ab ejus Vagatione, quòd in eo aberravit, ſic dictus ſit. *Cartwright.* in Locum.

Situation

Situation at this preſent Time is hard to be exactly determined. All that we are told of it is, that it lay to the *Eaſt* of EDEN, and ſerved him for an *Hiding-place*, till by Time and Recollection he could extricate himſelf from his preſent Difficulties.

In Order to which, he forms an *Alliance* by MARRIAGE, and, as the only *Place of Security*, builds a CITY of his own, and gathers his *Deſcendants* into a *Community*, after the Example of the more *regular* Part of the *Species*, who, as they are deſcribed in this Chapter to have already put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence, ſeem to have been before-hand with him in this Invention.

Thus much then being premiſed concerning the *Natural Hiſtory* of MANKIND from their very Origin: I ſhall take Occaſion, from a View of the *Politics* of theſe early Ages, to prove,

Firſt. That (according to the Laws of Nature) the only *Cauſe* or *Motive* for FORMING SOCIETIES was in Order to procure, by *mutual* Aſſiſtance, and Friendſhip, a greater Degree of *Comfort*, *Security*, and *Peace*, than could be obtained in a *ſolitary*, *diſunited* State.

Secondly. That MURDERERS being guilty of *oppoſing* and *defeating* theſe ENDS of Society, declare themſelves *ipſo Facto* to be *publick Enemies*; and conſequently, that *every one*, *who findeth* them, has a *Right* to *ſlay them*.

Thirdly. That a *chief* MAGISTRATE, or GOVERNOR, refuſing to *execute* that Right for the *Subject*, and *oppoſing* him at the ſame Time in the Uſe of it, doth thereby diſſolve the *original*

COMPACT

COMPACT of the STATE; loſes all *Title* to the *Obedience* of his People; and leaves them, as once, *again in a State of Nature*, to take their own MEASURES, and *ſhift for themſelves*.

But *Firſt*, I am to prove, that the only *Cauſe* or *Motive* for *forming Societies*, was in Order to procure, by *mutual Aſſiſtance* and *Friendſhip*, a greater Degree of *Comfort*, *Security*, and *Peace*, than could be obtained in a *ſolitary*, *diſunited State*.

And here, as almoſt all our *Appetites*, *Purſuits*, and *Faculties*, ſpeak ſome *Dependence* on our *Fellow-Creatures*, or *Attachment* to them, it might be taken for granted, that Man muſt want much of the *natural* Happineſs, which God intended for him, and his own *Being* requires, when he is excluded from Society.

" More Things are neceſſary," ſays an excellent Philoſopher, " to *ſuſtain* Life, or at leaſt " to make it in any Degree pleaſant and deſira- " ble, than any *one* Man can make or provide " for himſelf, merely from his own *Labour* and " Ingenuity. *Meat*, and *Drink*, and *Cloathing*, " and *Houſe*, and that frugal *Furniture*, which " is abſolutely requiſite, with a little neceſſary " *Phyſick*, ſuppoſe many *Arts* and *Trades*, many " *Heads* and many *Hands*. If he could make " a Shift in Time of *Health*, to live as a *wild* " Man under the Covering of Trees and Rocks, " feeding upon ſuch Fruits, Herbs and Roots, " and other Things, as the Earth ſhould afford " in return for his *Labour*, or happen *ſponta-* " *neouſly* to preſent him; yet what could he do " in *Sickneſs* and *old Age*, when he would not be " able to ſtir abroad, to collect the Gifts of " Nature and enjoy her Beneficence?"

This

This lonely and helpleſs Condition, plainly ſhewing, that an Union with his Fellow-Creatures is extremely neceſſary to the Convenience and Comfort of every human Creature; I ſhall lay down two *Maxims*, which may ſerve as *Principles* to *regulate* that UNION, and render it ſubſervient to human HAPPINESS.

The *firſt* is, That SOCIETY without *Benevolence* can never *preſerve this Union.*

The *ſecond*, That SOCIETY without *Benevolence* will make Men *more unhappy, than if they had never been at all united.*

The firſt Obſervation is true. For it is not the forming themſelves into a Body, that can keep Men united. A collected Number may be called a *Community*, and while they remain together, they have the *Appearance* of ſuch: but if there be wanting an *Union* of Hearts and Affections, they want the *Eſſence* of Society. Like the Particles in a Thread of Sand, though they appear to be together, they are really ſeparate, and but one Remove from Diſſolution.

For Men muſt come together either upon *good* Deſigns to each other, or upon *bad*: the *former* not being here ſuppoſed, the *latter* muſt take their Place; and as *bad Deſigns* can have nothing for their Object but *Hurt* or *Deſtruction*, with either of theſe *Society* cannot ſubſiſt.

For if the firſt Formers of human Society, when herded with *Savages*, removed from amongſt them with a View to Security and better Treatment, and miſſed of their Aim, finding no better Accommodation than they left, does not the Cauſe ſtill ſubſiſt, why they ſhould re-

move

move again? The ſame *ſavage* Principles remaining, of *unbounded* SELF-INTEREST, and RAPINE, will produce the ſame *ſavage* Actions; defeat the End of the new Society, and drive them for ever to other Settlements, but never preſerve them in any.

Becauſe ſuch *Principles* muſt occaſion continual Struggles and Convulſions, and fill the World with Acts of Violence and Injuſtice, the *ſtrong* ſtill oppreſſing and devouring the *weak*. The Conſequence of which muſt be *Broils*, and Bloodſhed in particular Rencounters; or a GENERAL *civil* War; or elſe a *lingering Declenſion* of the STATE, the weakeſt *Members* decaying firſt.

Not that the Diſeaſe will ſtop with the Loſs of theſe; the Few, who ſurvived the *Pillage* and *Deſtruction* of their *Fellow-Creatures*, through *Dread* and *Jealouſy* of each other, muſt be forced to ſeparate, ſecuring themſelves, as they can, againſt the Attacks of that uncharitable cruel Temper, which leſſened their Number at the firſt.

Upon this State of *Miſery* and *Confuſion*, which muſt neceſſarily *enſue* when a *Community* is broken up, by the *unnatural* Conduct of its Members in not purſuing the *Welfare* of the WHOLE, but their private Animoſities, and private Intereſts, I cannot but make my ſecond Obſervation, in Effect to this Purpoſe.

II. *That the unfortunate People, who were led to compoſe ſuch a Society, are made more unhappy by their Conjunction, than if they had never been united.*

For the *real* End of Society being mutual

Help and Aſſiſtance, People who come into it, poſſeſſed with ſuch a fond and honeſt Notion, are apt to require ſomething more to their Subſiſtence, than a Cloathing of *Skins*, and the *Roots*, and *Herbs*, of an HERMIT: being now conſorted, as they think, with *reaſonable* Creatures, and not amongſt the *Beaſts* of the Field, they naturally expect more from them, than from *Savages*, and have made their Happineſs depend, in great meaſure, as in Societies it neceſſarily muſt, upon the good *Offices* they are to receive from others: but the Want of Charity ſtops all Interchange of Kindneſs, and reduces them to a *worſe* State than that of the *Hermit*, who being bred to Miſery, never expected any one's Aſſiſtance, while theſe in a juſt Hope of HELP from their *Fellow-Creatures* are lamentably loſt; like the *Mariner*, who periſhes in the *Sight* of Shore, within the Aſſiſtance of his Friends.

It is this Diſappointment of expected Help that doubles the *ſorrowful Sighing of the Priſoners*, that provokes afreſh the Widow's Tears, and Orphan's Cries, that deepens the Groans of the Miſerable, and adds a more piercing Accent to all their Complaints.

In theſe, and ſuch like Circumſtances, when People find all *Hopes* of *Succour* from Mankind eluded, and withal receive grievous *Injuries* from others, which they could never have received from themſelves; it is no Wonder that they grew weary of their own *Species*, and prefer *Solitude* to *Society*.

It is upon theſe Occaſions that we read in *Hiſtory* of the *Separation* of particular Perſons, and ſometimes of the *Seceſſion* of an whole Multitude.

Thus,

Thus, for Inſtance, TIMON, the honeſt *Athenian*, whoſe Love of Juſtice and plain Dealing had led him into many a Snare in his Intercourſe with a corrupt, deceitful, rotten-hearted People, and whoſe Reſentment upon that Account acquired him the Name of the *Man-hater*, after he had been long credulous and benevolent to his *own Hurt*, retired at length from the *Generation of Vipers*, and left them to ſting each other.

And thus, in the firſt Period of the ROMAN *Commonwealth*, the COMMONS, oppreſſed and wounded to the Heart by Injuries, came to a Determination to break up the State, and to leave the City; which *Revolution* would certainly have taken Place, had they not been ſoothed by the Temper and Sagacity of *Agrippa*, and lured by the Promiſes of better Uſage.

Such Paſſages as theſe are recorded in *Hiſtory*, and where that has been ſilent, the *Dens* and *Caves* of the Earth, the Monuments of *Inhumanity* in *ſavage* Countries, are a Teſtimony to the World, that People look upon a State of *Solitude*, however contrary to the proper State of human Nature, to be yet a better Condition than they can expect to find in a *bad* Society.

And yet it has been obſerved before, from the *Situation* and *Purſuits* of Man, that he is a *ſocial* Creature: of Conſequence, without ſome *Union* and Intercourſe with his *Fellow-Creatures*, his Life muſt be very deſtitute and very miſerable. The Sum of the Matter then is this, That if you take away Affection from Mankind, let them live how they will, they muſt live in Miſery.

II. But what I have hitherto advanced is only a *Step* towards the PROOF of my ſecond PROPOSITION, touching the *Legality* of killing *Murderers*:

For if SOCIETY cannot ſubſiſt without *common* FRIENDSHIP; how much leſs can it ſubſiſt, if it harbour in it *common* Enemies?

The Matters urged in Proof of my *firſt* PROPOSITION plainly ſhew, that the *End* and *Deſign* of forming *Societies*, was for the Sake of procuring a greater Degree of *Comfort*, *Security*, and *Peace*:

But *Murderers*, being guilty of oppoſing and defeating all theſe Ends, declare themſelves *ipſo Facto*, or by the *very Deed*, to be *publick* ENEMIES: therefore, as *every Member* of a Community is intereſted in the *publick* PEACE, his own being bound up, and included in that of the *Publick*, it follows, that *every Member* of a *Community* has a *Right* to *ſlay a Murderer*.

And that the *antient* PRACTICE ſupported People in this *Right*, may be plainly gathered from the Converſation of *Cain*, and GOD's Reply to it, as a Thing eſtabliſhed—"therefore," ſays he, (i. e.) "becauſe the Thng is ſo, as you "repreſent it; that, by *common Cuſtom* of the "World, *every one may kill you, that meets you*, "I will interpoſe *my Authority*; and, by puniſh-"ing you in my *own Way*, that is, by ſetting as "a *Mark* my *Curſe* upon you, I will take the "Execution of *Vengeance* upon myſelf."—The *Vengeance* you ſee was *due*, and in the common Courſe of Things would certainly been executed in the uſual Manner, but for the Interpoſition of *divine* AUTHORITY.

For

For by the *Law* of NATURE, no *Human* LAWGIVER or RULER can remit the earthly or *temporal* Puniſhment due to Murder, unleſs ſo impowered by an Act of the *whole Community*; or ſcreen an Offender of that Sort, if *any one Individual* demand his Puniſhment, for the Reaſons before produced. Becauſe a *Murderer is a publick Enemy*, that is, an Enemy to every *Individual*, as well as to the *Community*. To demonſtrate this more particularly—It appears, from what has been ſaid, that the *End* and *Deſign* of SOCIETY is to procure to Mankind, by mutual *Aſſiſtance* and *Friendſhip*, a greater Degree of *Security*, *Peace*, and *Comfort*, than in a *ſolitary* State they could expect to poſſeſs.

Whoſoever, therefore, by his *Actions* ſhall declare himſelf an *Enemy* to thoſe ENDS, doth at the ſame Time declare himſelf a *publick* ENEMY: for he is an Enemy to the *publick* Tranquillity.

This *Character* may be juſtly fixed upon a Man, not only when he diſturbs a *Multitude* at once; but even when he makes an *Attack* upon a *ſingle* Perſon; if that *Attack* be ſuch as deprives a Perſon of his *Being*, or even of his *Well-being*. For it makes *Society* no longer a *Place* of SECURITY; and therefore it puts every *Individual* into the ſame State of *Danger*; though *real* Deſtruction may as yet have affected but few. In this *general* Alarm, then, or *Appearance* of Danger, every Man has a Right to put himſelf into a State of Defenſe; and as his *own* SECURITY is included in that of the *Publick*; to oppoſe and deſtroy that *Object*, which puts his own Security to the Hazard by diſturbing the *publick* Peace.

He

He has a Right, therefore, to deſtroy a *Murderer* for deſtroying the *publick* SECURITY: becauſe an Attempt of that Sort is deſtroying his *own* SECURITY, as a *private* Man,—the Caſe is alarming to every *Individual*, as well as to the BODY *Politick:* and therefore, beſide the Power of acting in *Conjunction* with the *Community*, as in other Caſes, againſt a *publick* Enemy; he has a Right, in this Caſe, to oppoſe the *publick* Enemy, as a *ſingle* Man; which is a Privilege, that he enjoys by the *Right* of *Self-defenſe*.

To deny, that a Man is poſſeſſed of ſuch a *Power* as this, is only the Doctrine of *Tyrants* and *Traitors*, whoſe *Crime* no *Puniſhment* can equal, and who ought to be exterminated from the Face of the Earth.

It is to aſſert, ſays an excellent Writer upon *the* † *Religion* of NATURE, contrary to Truth, that a Man either *has not* the *Faculties* and *Powers*, which he *actually has*, for his DEFENSE, or that the Author of Nature has given them to him in vain. For to what *End* does he poſſeſs them, if he may not uſe them? And how may he uſe them, if not to his own *Preſervation*, when he is attacked, and abuſed, and perhaps in Danger of being deſtroyed?

If a Man has no *Right* to *defend* himſelf againſt *Inſults*, *Pain*, and *Death*; it muſt be becauſe the *Aggreſſor* has a *Right* to *aſſail* him, and to uſurp a Power over *him*, and what *is his:* but this *Pretenſion*, where a *Man is not an Offender*, is prevented by the Notion of *Property*; every Man has ſomething, which is truly *his*—

† Page 232.

his

his *Life* and *Limbs* for Inſtance, and let us for the preſent only ſuppoſe, that there may be *more*. And as Men in a *State of Nature*, are allowed by all * *Civilians* to have been born *equal*, no Man has a Right to hurt another's *Property*, or interrupt his *Happineſs*; but if a Man may not *defend* himſelf, it ſuppoſes that the other has that *Right*, which includes a great Abſurdity, namely, a Licence to commence an Injury, or begin a Violence, which is in Nature a more unreaſonable Demand, than only a Licence to repel it.

For he who begins is the true Cauſe of all that follows, and whatever falls upon him from the Oppoſition made by the defending Party, is but the Effect of his own Act: or the Violence of which he is the Author, *reflected* back upon himſelf.

And with *Regard to* SOCIETY, ſince he who begins to violate the Happineſs of another does what is *wrong*; we may be ſure, that he who endeavours to obviate or put a Stop to that Violence, in that Reſpect does what is right; —Right, I ſay, with Reſpect to the Community.

For with *Regard to* HIMSELF, ſince every Man is obliged to conſult his own Happineſs, there can be no Doubt but that he not only *may*, but even ought to defend it.

Otherwiſe he will fail in his Duty to himſelf, and deny that his Happineſs is his Happineſs, or, which is the ſame Thing, ſuffer what ſhould be

* *Tractet tanquam naturaliter ſibi æqualem, ſeu ut æquè Hominem.* PUFFENDORF, c. vii.——Chaque Homme dans le Fond de ſon Cœur a Droit de ſe croire entiérement égal aux autres Hommes. VOLTAIRE, ſur l'*Egalitè*.

his

his *Happineſs*, by the *Malice* of others, to become his *Miſery*.

This *Right* of SELF-DEFENSE then may always be exerted upon the *Apprehenſion* of Danger, and therefore the *Appearance* of Danger will always give a Man juſt Cauſe to exert it.

I am not to ſtay, ſays our excellent * *Civilian*, till a Man ſhall actually begin to make an *Attack* upon my *Perſon*; or betray my own *Safety* ſo far, as to ſuffer him by my *Negligence* to take ſuch *Advantages*, as may effect my *own* Ruin.

We do not know *how ſoon*, a Perſon, who has done a Thing *once*, may do it *again*, he has declared himſelf to be a dangerous Creature, an *Enemy to Man*, by *killing a Man*. It is enough then that he awakens our *Suſpicions*, in ſuch a Manner, as to put us in *Fear* for our *Lives*. When this *Fear* commences, the Time of *Action* commences againſt an *Adverſary*. And therefore, when it is reported, that a *Murderer* infeſts *Society*, we may immediately proceed to act againſt him, if he come in our Way.

Becauſe his is a *Character*, that always raiſes a *Suſpicion* of our being hurt: we are by no Means certain, but that he may immediately give *freſh Proofs* of his wicked Temper, by effecting our own Deſtruction; and therefore, at the very Moment, that theſe Fears ariſe, and his Approach to our Perſons makes him dangerous, that *very Moment*, as he has forfeited all Protection from *civil* SOCIETY, and is as little to be truſted, as a Perſon poſſeſſed by *canine* Madneſs, —that *very Moment* he may be deſtroyed.

* *Neque enim ad Defenſionem requiritur primum Ictum excipere; aut Ictus, qui intentantur, eludere duntaxat et repellere.* Puffendorf, Off. p. 37.

And

And whenever the *Laws* of any *particular* Country are deficient in this Reſpect, and come not in to the Aid of the *Law* of NATURE, in Matters of ſuch Importance as the immediate Danger of loſing a Life, that *Country* is not *fit* to be any longer our Place of *Reſidence*; ſince the *Laws* are not able to *protect the Subject* in the Article of *perſonal Safety*, and SELF-DEFENSE, and, therefore, no longer worthy of his *Subjection* or Regard.

III. Having thus clearly demonſtrated from *Principles* and *Maxims* undeniably true, that every Man has by the Law of Nature an *unalienable* Right to *ſlay* a *Murderer*, becauſe a *Murderer* is a *publick* Enemy, dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the *Community*, and therefore to his *own* Peace; my laſt Obſervation touching the Concurrence of the Laws upon ſuch an Occaſion will lead me to the *third* Thing propoſed, which was to conſider more minutely, what Aid an *Individual* may expect from the Publick in Support of *ſuch a Right*, where I believe it will appear;

"That a CHIEF-MAGISTRATE or GOVERNER refuſing to *exerciſe* that *Right*, for the *Subject*, and at the ſame Time denying him the Privilege of uſing it for himſelf, doth thereby diſſolve the *original* COMPACT of the STATE; loſes all *Title* to the *Obedience* of his People; and leaves them as once again in a *State* of NATURE, to take their *own* MEASURES, and to *ſhift* for themſelves."

For though, upon entering into *Society*, Men may, for *Convenience*, (and *Convenience* we ſee is the *End* of coming into Society) lodge or *depoſit*

this Right in the Hands of *others*, yet it is occaſionally *reſumable*, and only *depoſited in* TRUST.

" *A Man* (ſays my Author) † *may part with ſome of his natural Rights, and put himſelf under the Government of Laws, and of thoſe (People) who in their ſeveral Stations are entruſted with the Execution of them, in order to gain their Protection, and the Privileges of a regular Society:* —But if the Queſtion be aſked—*what* natural Rights a Man may part with, or *how far* he may part with them? the *general* Anſwer, I think, may be this: ſome Things are *eſſential* to our Being—(and therefore *not to be parted with*) —and ſome it is *in our Power* to part with— From ſuch as theſe then we may recede, as far as is conſiſtent with the *End*, for which we do it—and not further."—For Inſtance, ſuppoſe our *End* be SAFETY, we cannot then convey away the *Means* of SAFETY ſo far as to loſe that *End*. For this would be a *Contradiction*.

Every Member of a *Community* has a *Right* to SAFETY: he enters into *Society*, with the View to ſecure that *Right*, and the Stipulations and Engagements on the Part of the Magiſtracy, to fulfil the Laws and Compacts of the Country, are always underſtood, by the very Nature of *civil* Compacts, to be a Security for the ſame.

Every *civil* GOVERNMENT, therefore, to a *Subject*, who is not a *Criminal*, is ſuppoſed to be an *Aſylum*, or Place of *Safety*: for otherwiſe it contradicts the very *End* and *Deſign* of

† *Religion* of NATURE delineated, Page 150, *Propoſition* the VIth.

civil

civil Government. That is, it is a *Contradiction* to itſelf.

But no *Nation* can be a *Place of Safety*, where the *Government* avowedly harbours *Murderers*; and in *Defiance* of *Law* and *Juſtice* perſiſts in the Act: becauſe in this Caſe they are *perſiſting* in that, which muſt deſtroy all *Safety*. Since *Murder* and *Safety* are directly Oppoſites, the one implying the *Security* of a Man, the other his *Deſtruction*; and, therefore, they mutually expel each other.

Such a *Government* then acts contrary to the *Ends* and *Purpoſes* of Society: and, therefore, if ſuch a Government cannot be *altered* or *diſſolved* it muſt *deſtroy* SOCIETY: to avoid which Conſequence, SOCIETY has a Right,—*1ſt*, to *alter* that Government —and if that cannot be effected by *fair* Means—then *2dly*, to *diſſolve* it—and *laſtly*—if that be not in their *Power*—the Members have then a Right to *forſake* ſuch a SOCIETY, and ſhift for themſelves.—

Of theſe in their Order—

And *1ſt*. Upon *Suppoſition*, that a *Government* ſhould act contrary to the *Ends* and *Purpoſes* of SOCIETY, as in the aforeſaid Caſe of Murder, *Individuals* have a Right to *alter* that *Government*.

For they have been *deceived* in the *Execution* of the *Compact*. They entered into Society in Order to have their ſeveral *Properties* aſcertained, and to be quiet in the *Poſſeſſion* of them; eſpecially in the Poſſeſſion of *that*, which is the greateſt of all, and the *Foundation* of all other Properties, the *Property* which they have in their own LIVES.

They may *remonſtrate* then againſt a *Deception* of this high Nature and Conſequence, as a *Breach* of Contract, and demand an *Alteration* in the *Meaſures* of the State.

If the *Parties*, who form the *Government* refuſe to comply with the Demand, and perſiſt in the *Denial*, they bring on the *ſecond Caſe:* and by turning the *Power* of the Government againſt the *Individual*, which ſhould have been for his *Protection*, they give the *Individual* a Right to deſtroy that Government.

And this upon the ſame *Principle* of *Self-defenſe*, that authoriſes him to deſtroy a ſingle Man.

For if a Man cannot part with his Right of *Self-defenſe* againſt a *ſingle Murderer*, he cannot (*à fortiori*) part with his Right of *Self-defenſe* againſt a *Combination* of Murderers; but a *Government* combining with Murderers is a *Combination* of *Murderers*; therefore a greater *Nuiſance*, an Object far more dangerous, as conſiſting of a greater Number, and for that Reaſon, if he can compaſs it, the more worthy to be deſtroyed.

"This Reaſon is *deciſive*, ſays PROFESSOR † *Barbeyrac*, and ſufficient to refute the Opinion of thoſe, who pretend, as does *Grotius* for one, (in

† Les *Devoirs* de l'Homme, &c. Edit. d'Amſterdam, Tom. 1. P. 120.—Voïez ce que l'on dit, après Monſieur VANDER MEULEN dans la BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE, Tom. 13. Pag. 143, & *Suiv.* En vain allégueroit-on l'Avantage de la Societé, qui ſeroit troublée par une telle Réſiſtance à ceux qui en ſont les Chefs, ou qui ont quelque Part au Gouvernement. Car, outre que dans l'Epouvante, où jette la Grandeur du Péril, on n'eſt guéres en Etat de faire de telles Réflexions; on a plûtôt Lieu de préſumer que l'Aggreſſeur ne demeurera pas là, & que les autres Perſonnes, qui dépendent de lui, doivent s'attendre à de pareilles Violences, toutes les Fois qu'il lui en prendra Fantaiſie.

his

his *Jure Belli et Pacis* Lib. II. Cap. 1. §. 9.) that the Right of a juſt Defenſe of one's-ſelf ceaſes, when the unjuſt *Aggreſſor* is a *Prince*, or ſome other Perſon inveſted with Authority in civil Society. So far from it, that the Moment a *Magiſtrate*, or a *Superior*, let him be what he will, carries himſelf *maliciouſly*, and from *deliberate Choice*, to ſuch an Exceſs of Madneſs, he puts himſelf in a *State of War* with thoſe, which he thus attacks: the Bonds of *Subjection* are broken, and the *Subject* or *Inferior*, who never pretended, and who never could engage to carry his Obedience to this exceſſive Length, reenters from thenceforth into his *natural Rights, or the Rights of a State* of NATURE."

So that we ſee, when a Man, who is in Danger from a bad Government, can neither *alter* it, nor *diſſolve* it, the Defect of Means to obtain one or the other of theſe Ends, introduces the *third and laſt* mentioned *Caſe* of Neceſſity, and gives him a Right, where a Government acts contrary to the *Purpoſes* and *Inſtitution* of Society, to *forſake* that Government, and to *ſhift for himſelf*.

For, where there is no *Protection*, there is no *Obligation* to ſtay: and, where there is *Danger*, as there muſt be Danger from a COMBINATION of *Murderers*, there is great *Reaſon* to *depart*. Self-preſervation, the *primary* Law of Nature, as well as the *Cement* of Society, will, in this Caſe, oblige him to abandon his preſent Situation, and ſeek a Place of Refuge for himſelf.

This Matter is briefly ſtated, and determined in this Manner, in the *Religion of Nature* delineated, SECT. VII. *Propoſition* IX.

" In *Reſpect of thoſe Things*, (ſays the Author) *which*

which the Laws of the Place take no Cognizance of, or if they do take Cognizance of them, *yet if the Benefit of thoſe Laws cannot be had, he who is a Member of Society, in other Reſpects retains his natural Liberty—and muſt endeavour to act according to Truth and his beſt Prudence*—For in the firſt Caſe, where there is no *Cognizance* taken, there is *nothing* to limit him. And in the other, it is the ſame as *nothing*; ſince in *Effect* there is no Law, where no *Effect* or Benefit from it is to be had."

How much greater then, will I add, muſt be his *Danger*, and in Proportion how much more *precipitant his Flight*? if the *Magiſtrate* ſhould not only neglect him in *Danger*, but even become his *Purſuer*, and appear as a Murderer, at the *Head* of *Murderers*, directing them to do their Office.

In this Situation the Perſon *ſtopping* or hindering his *Eſcape* is guilty of the ſame Wrong, as thoſe, who purſue him to his Deſtruction; and, therefore, may be treated in juſt the ſame Manner. For he that would turn me back upon an *Adverſary*, that purſues me with an *armed Force* to deſtroy me, is acting the ſame Part as that Adverſary: and, therefore, for the ſame Reaſon, may be deſtroyed.

Upon this *Principle* is founded the *Legality* of ſudden *Emigrations* from a *diſordered* STATE, which the Government, when *Violence has been committed*, have no right to withſtand, or withſtand at their own Peril, it being an unjuſt *Detention*. For, in Circumſtances preſſing and dangerous, long and formal *Declarations* may hazard the *Lives* or defeat the *Deſign* of the *Emigrants*. Beſides, the *Rulers* of a State have no

Right

Right at that Juncture to expect a Remonſtrance. Where the *Compact* is diſſolved, the Government is from that Time nothing but mere Tyranny: and, therefore, in ſuch a Caſe the *Departure itſelf* is a *legal*, though tacit *Renunciation* of all *Connexion*; as the *Arrival* and *Settlement* in a ſtrange Land are preſumed to be a *real*, though *tacit*, Subjection to another Country, according to that fine and juſt Diſtinction of *Plato's*, ἤδη φαμὲν ὡμολογηκέναι ἔργῳ ἡμῖν, we ſay by *his Act and Deed he hath confeſſed it*.

This is generally the Expedient where the *Refugees* are diſperſed, and in Number not ſufficient to make a Settlement of their own: but if they can collect themſelves and form themſelves into a *Colony*, that *Colony* has a Right to depart. We have Examples of this Sort in the *Seceſſions* of the old *Romans*, which the *Senate* did not attempt to withſtand: but what is neareſt our Purpoſes, our own *Anceſtors* have left us a remarkable *Precedent* upon a like Occaſion. In the Time of Charles I. when Diſputes ran high between the *Subject* and the *Prince*, when the Publick *Money* was ſquandered, and replaced by *Force*, when their *Liberties* were gone, and their Perſons viſibly in Danger, when no one could ſpeak a favourable Word of the Government but thoſe who ſhared, or expected to ſhare, the *Plunder* of the PUBLICK, by being *Placemen* and *Penſioners* to the COURT: they preferred a *Wilderneſs* to a Country which was ſo ſoon to be the *Scene* of Diſtraction and Bloodſhed, and ſought an *Aſylum* in AMERICA. To their new Settlement, as a Mark of their Deſcent, and the beſt Means of preſerving their Memorial and Exiſtence as a People; they gave it their *National* Name, and called

called it NEW-ENGLAND, ſince the Name of the *Old* was now to give Way to that of *Great-Britain*, and be loſt in Oblivion for ever. The *bad Government* at Home, alarmed by this Revolt, and foreſeeing their own Decay in the Removal of the Subjects, (as the *Want of* * *People is the Deſtruction of the Prince*,) prevailed upon the King to iſſue a *Proclamation* debarring them Acceſs even to thoſe inhoſpitable Deſerts. *Eight* Ships lying in the *Thames*, and ready to ſail, were detained by *Order* of the COUNCIL, in which were embarked † Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, *John Hampden*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, who, contrary to the || Law of Nature, as well as their own *Inclinations*, were forced back again to a Land divided and unſettled, to ſhare in the *Perils* of a *civil* War, in the Beginning of which the great Mr. *Hampden* was ſlain, but *Cromwell* ſurvived to be afterwards of the Number of thoſe, who took Vengeance upon the *Perſon* of the unfortunate KING; for having ſuffered his Servants, in this and other Inſtances, to make ſo bad an Uſe of his Power.

Theſe are the *Subjects*, which, conſidering the *increaſing* Danger of the Times, as well as the *original Melancholy* ‡ OCCASION of *theſe Diſ-*

* Proverbs xiv. 28.

† *Hume*'s Hiſtory of Great-Britain, Page 214. Mather's Hiſtory of *New-England*, Book I. Dugdale, Bates.

|| On a prétendu dans pluſieurs Pays, qu'il n'étoit pas permis à un Citoyen de ſortir de la Contrée où le Hazard l'a fait naître; le Sens de cette Loi eſt viſiblement: *ce Pays eſt ſi mauvais & ſi mal gouverné, que nous défendons à chaque Individu d'en ſortir, de Peur que tout le Monde n'en ſorte*---Faites mieux donnez à tous vos Sujets Envie de demeurer chez vous, & aux Etrangers d'y venir. VOLTAIRE.

‡ The Murder of Mr. ALLEN.

courſes,

courſes, the conſcientious Diſcharge of my Duty would not permit me to paſs over in Silence. I am required by the *Law* of *Nature*, and by the Precepts of that RELIGION, which is here by *Law* eſtabliſhed, by the Obligations of *civil* SOCIETY, (and which come nearer to the Heart of Man) by the *ſympathetick* Feelings of *Humanity*, to *cry aloud and ſpare not*, till the *Arm* of the *Deſtroyer* ſhall be withheld.

For, notwithſtanding the mighty Offenſe, which ſome People *affected* to take at the *Doctrine* of my *firſt* Sermon, tending to ſhew the *ſupreme* and *indiſpenſable* Authority of the Laws of *God, and the Impiety and fatal Conſequences of ſcreening and abetting Murder*---the Practice has been ſtill continued---out of an high Regard, no Doubt, to the *Conſtitution*, and the Support of *Magiſtrates*, who, when acting *againſt Law*, ought not to be *ſupported* at all; and when acting *according to Law*---muſt be *very ſtrangely ſupported!* by hiring *Ruffians* to murder the *People* aſſembled † to chooſe their *Repreſentatives*; yet even this, you are told, was *to keep the Peace*.

But if their *Peace* be *Death*; you have the more Reaſon, to be *all* alarmed upon the *Occaſion*, and to *find*, or *make* immediately ſome better *Proviſion* for your *Defenſe*, than the preſent Cobwebs of your *broken* Laws. Conſider, that *Murderers* are *publick Enemies*, equally dangerous to the whole Community, as *ſudden* and *inſidious* in their Attacks as LIONS and TYGERS---that ſuch Monſters *combined* are more to be dreaded than when alone---and then moſt *dreadful*, whenthey receive *Autho-*

† On the Violation of the Right of free Choice, See Appendix, No. VI.

rity, or *Indulgence* from the *Servants* of a STATE.

To be *ſo ſurrounded* is to be *all your Life-time, through Fear of Death, in* perpetual *Bondage*. Rouſe, therefore, and concur with your Neighbours in ſeeking the *Means* of your Deliverance; and then beg the *Bleſſing of God* upon the Uſe of the Means---that ſo the *foul* and *infernal* SPIRIT of *Tyranny* and *Bloodſhed*, which hath occaſioned theſe *Diſorders*, may be ſpeedily driven from this Land, and flee before the Preſence of THE LORD OF HOSTS.

THE END.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE I.

Of the Character of CAIN, *and his Religion.*

FOR the *moral* Character of Cain, he ſeems to have been by Diſpoſition an obſtinate, ignorant, churliſh, bloody-minded Creature—one of thoſe, who are compared in Scripture to an *Horſe and a Mule, that have no Underſtanding, whoſe Mouths muſt be held in with Bit and Bridle, leſt they fall upon Thee.*

For his *Religion*—it ſeems to have been of the ſame Stamp with Modern *Methodiſm.*

Like a true Son of his *Mother* EVE, we find, that he was for laying his Faults upon ſomebody elſe, only with this Difference; ſhe blamed the *Serpent, who beguiled her,* for her Offence: whereas he, by a true Predeſtinarian Blaſphemy, throws all the Reproach of his Sin upon God himſelf—*Thou haſt driven me out*—ſays he, as though God had done it.

Which was the more impious, as we read that God had not been wanting in his Goodneſs to afford him all Neceſſary Information. For in a former Converſation, he had forewarned him, and reproved his Ignorance, in Words that purpoſely tended to correct his wicked Notions and prevent his fault—*Why art thou wroth, and why is thy Countenance fallen,* intimating a Suſpicion of what would follow, from diſcovering the Marks of his Intention in his ſullen dogged Look—*If thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doeſt not well, Sin lieth at thy Door*—Reminding him of the Natural Diſtinction between Good and Evil; and informing him, that if he would obſerve that Diſtinction, and follow that which was *good,* according to the *Light* of Nature, he ſhould be *accepted:* But otherwiſe, if he choſe to do Evil, the SIN muſt lie at his own Door, and not at the Door of his *Creator.* Which Converſation all along ſuppoſes Man to be a Free-Agent—to have a proper Notion of Good and Evil—and to be anſwerable for his Conduct to God Almighty. This is the old and true Religion, which has continued without a Change in the *Fundamentals,* from the Creation to this very Day.

Whereas, it is evident from theſe Reproofs, that the Religion of Cain was the very Reverſe of this: and, therefore, of the ſame Stamp with Modern *Methodiſm.*

This the Reader will ſee, if he will conſult a little Tract of the Author's, called the *bad Principles of the Methodiſts diſplayed*, and other Parts of the *Controverſy* which ſubſiſted for two Years, between him and Mr. WESLEY, JONES, and *others* of that *Sect*. Wherein it appears, from their own Writings, that they hold it as a *neceſſary Article of* FAITH, that Man is not a *Free-Agent*, and therefore not a Moral *Agent*: that in this State, which implies a State of Impunity, he is at the ſame Time, a Creature of ſo vile a Turn, that he is not able of himſelf to think one good Thought, to do one good Act; but neceſſarily and perpetually determined *to do Evil*; which Doctrine, if embraced in its full Extent, and ſuffered to carry with it all thoſe Conſequences, which naturally follow, is the moſt pernicious to *Society* of any in the World; and ſuch as can never, conſiſtently with the *Principles* of GOVERNMENT, be adopted by a STATE. Since there is no Kind of *Villainy*, but what the Profeſſors of ſuch a Religion may upon Occaſion *cloak and patronize*, and no *Criminal*, but what upon theſe Principles, they may exempt from Puniſhment.

For ſuppoſe that ſuch a Religion as this was the *eſtabliſhed Religion* of ENGLAND, and I was a *Methodiſt* and a *Judge*, ſhould not I be greatly hampered in the Exerciſe of my *Profeſſion* by ſuch *Religion?* For as a *Lawyer*, I muſt *be of Opinion*, that if a Man be a *Machine*, and a Machine too neceſſarily determined *to Evil*, he muſt do that, to which he is *predeſtined*. Theſe *Principles* then are directly oppoſite to the *Principles* of the LAWS of England.

For the Law of England talks of *voluntary* Acts, (or Acts of *Choice*) and ſays—"He that doth a cruel and *voluntary* "Act, whereby Death enſues, doth it of Malice propenſe, "in the Eſteem of the *Law*, though he doth it of a Sud-"den," &c. But the *Predeſtinarian* Doctrine of the METHODISTS *contradicts* theſe *Laws*; no Wonder then, where ſuch Principles are imbibed, if the *Laws* are *ſuperſeded*, or *Murderers* pardoned.

For, upon theſe *Principles* the RELATIONS of Perſons murdered, ſuppoſe it be of thoſe in and about St. George's Fields, on the 10th of May, 1768, by the the *Soldiers*; or afterwards at Brentford, by any of the *Yeomen* of the Guard, or the *Ruffians* hired for that Purpoſe. I ſay, by the *Principles* of ſuch a RELIGION, theſe Relations had no more Right to bring an Indictment againſt any of theſe People *vulgarly* called *Murderers*, than againſt the *Machines* or *Engines* they made Uſe of to put the Innocent to Death. For by this Doctrine, the Murderers had no *Will* of their own in the Caſe, they were *predeſtined* to do it—*Ergo*, I doubt

doubt whether they were guilty of the Murder—*Ergo*, they ought to be pardoned---*Ergo*, they ſhall be pardoned---And as the *Cauſa proxima*, or *immediate* Cauſe of theſe Deaths were Things of another *Kind*, if an Indictment can be brought againſt any Thing, that acts by mere *Neceſſity*, it ſhould be brought againſt the *Gun* and the *Bullet* in one Caſe; and in the other, againſt the Bludgeons and Clubs; or againſt the Vomiting and *Fever*, the laſt Agent in the Caſe of *Clarke* and *Hopkins*---or the *Diſorder* of the VISCERA in not performing their Functions, which, after the Paſſing of the harmleſs Bullet, was without Doubt the Death of Mr. *Allen*.

In the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt, the State of Religion being very diſordered and corrupt, and the Cauſe of great Confuſion, the People in their Fifth *Propoſition* to the KING, deſired that Matters in Religion ſhould be left to the Regulation of *Parliament*, it being of high Importance to the State, that the *National* Religion, eſpecially, ſhould be *conſiſtent*, and rational, and tending every way to the Good of Mankind: but can ſuch a Religion as has been juſt deſcribed be ſaid to be *conſiſtent*, or rational, or tending every Way to the publick Good? As it is totally ſubverſive of all Law and Juſtice, I am ſure it cannot; and therefore if ſuch a Religion be predominant, be cheriſhed, foſtered, and received into the *Cloſets* of People, who, though in Senſe the meaneſt, may be perhaps in Power ſome of the higheſt in the State: the *Diſorders* in Religion now ſubſiſting will require the *Inſpection*, and *Settlement*, of a *learned*, *able*, and *honeſt* PARLIAMENT, as much as in the Time of *Charles the Firſt*.

Eſpecially in that *Article*, which ſo nearly affects the Diſtribution of Law and *Juſtice*, that while it is taken to be the Senſe of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, to which by their Office they are ſuppoſed to aſſent and conform, I do not ſee how my Lord Chancellor, or the twelve Judges, can attempt to try another Offenſe in Law or Equity, or arraign another Criminal.

For can my LORD CHANCELLOR, or the *Reverend* the JUDGES, declare that ſuch a *Syſtem* of RELIGION is conſiſtent with their *Syſtem* of LAW? And that it is not a *Soleciſm* in Government to admit of two *oppoſite* SYSTEMS?

Theſe are the Effects which the Notion of *abſolute* PREDESTINATION muſt have upon the *Adminiſtration* of JUSTICE.

I ſay but little at preſent, how far it operates as a Species of *Atheiſm* in Diſguiſe, againſt Religion, by tending to deſtroy all *Devotion:* becauſe this does not ſo immediately concern the Lawyers, as ſuch, ſince they may proceed upon

Buſineſs

Buſineſs purely their own, upon Suppoſition that Man is a *Moral* Agent, and that there is ſuch a Thing as a *practicable Rule* of Action. But Religion requires for its Exiſtence ſomething more, the Notion of the Being of a God, and the Signification of his Will; it looks to future Judgment from God Almighty, and ſuppoſes that equal and merciful Intercourſe and occaſional Commiſeration and Aſſiſtance from God, which an *inflexible*, iron-hearted *Predeſtination* totally deſtroys: which will therefore embarraſs a Magiſtrate, much more, that has any Mixture of the *Eccleſiaſtick* in his Character, becauſe this Man is to *unite* in his own *Perſon* and *Conduct* two oppoſite Syſtems: and, therefore, if he governed by ſuch Principles, in his more exalted and complex Sphere of Action, muſt not only unavoidably overturn the Law, and pardon thoſe, whom the Law has condemned as was before obſerved; but alſo ſuppoſing him to bear the Title of *Defender of the Faith* and *Head* of the CHURCH, be driven to great Inconſiſtencies in the Maintenance of the outward Acts and Solemnities of Religion: particularly occaſional Faſtings, and Thankſgivings, which muſt be all a Farce, if God be an unrelenting, unmerciful *Predeſtinarian* God; never regarding, or accommodating himſelf to the *changeable* Conditions and Diſpoſitions of Man, but governing by the ſame univerſal and invariable Laws in the *Spiritual* World, as he does in the *Natural*. The great Affair of a *future Judgment* alſo, or a *future State* of Rewards and Puniſhments, depending upon Man's *Free-Agency*, could be an *Article* of FAITH no longer: the Appearance of Piety would be all Hypocriſy, and both Law and Religion, loſing the Support of a ſolid Foundation, muſt fall to the Ground together.

Theſe would be no more than *natural* Conſequences, were a *Methodiſt* to be KING. And, therefore, it ought to be a Leſſon of Prudence to a Prince, to be careful how he *eſpouſes* a Religion, which has ſuch a *Tendency*, and even how he raiſes a *Suſpicion* that he is ſo diſpoſed, by ſuch Tokens of it, as chooſing his *Chaplains* from People of that Caſt, ſuffering their Conventicles, as *James* II. did his *Maſs-houſes*, to be erected in and about the *Palace*. Becauſe this Conduct would awaken the Attention of the People, and give them Suſpicion that the King was labouring to make the RELIGION, he *ſecretly* eſpouſed, the *National* Religion: and that the *Diſcouragement* and *Oppreſſion* of the *Rational* CLERGY, and the frequent Admiſſion of ignorant Tradeſmen into the *Orders* of Church, were ſo many Steps taken to aboliſh the Church, and eſtabliſh *Methodiſm* in its Room; which, by adopting abſolute Predeſtination, and making ſo little

Account

Account of the *natural* Diſtinctions of *Moral* GOOD and EVIL, muſt be diametrically oppoſite to the *fundamental* LAWS of the Land, and the preſent Diſtribution of JUSTICE, as well as the *Fundamentals* of *true* RELIGION.

NOTE II.

An Extract from The St. James's Chronicle, *of* Saturday, December 10, 1768.

To the PRINTER of THE ST. JAMES's CHRONICLE.

SIR,

I Send you the following authentic State-Paper, the Date of which, prior more than three Weeks to the fatal 10th of May, ſhews how long the horrid Maſſacre in St. George's Fields had been planned and determined upon, before it was carried into Execution; and how long a helliſh Project can be brooded over by ſome infernal Spirits, without one Moment's Remorſe.

COPY.

SIR, *St. James's, April* 17, 1768.

HAVING already ſignified the King's Pleaſure to the Lord-lieutenant of the County in which you reſide, with Regard to the Meaſures to be taken *in general* for preſerving the Peace at a Time that ſo very riotous a Diſpoſition hath diſcovered itſelf among the common People, I make no doubt but either ſome Steps have, or will immediately be taken by him on that Head; and, I take it for granted, that, as Chairman of the Seſſions, you will meet the Gentlemen, who act in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the Borough of Southwark, and Eaſt-Hundred of Brixton, to conſult together, and fix upon ſome Plan for ſecuring the publick Tranquillity againſt any Miſchiefs which may happen, ſhould the ſame indecent Spirit of Tumult and Diſorder, which has appeared in the City and Liberties of Weſtminſter, ſpread itſelf to thoſe Parts, which are within the Line of your Duty; and though I am perſuaded it is unneceſſary to ſuggeſt to you, or the Gentlemen who will meet you, any Part of your Duty upon ſuch an Occaſion, yet, after the recent alarming Inſtances of Riot and Confuſion, I can't help apprizing you, that much will depend upon the preventive Meaſures which you ſhall, in Conjunction with the other Gentlemen in the Commiſſion of the Peace, take, upon your Meeting, and much is expected from the Vigilance and Activity with which ſuch Meaſures

will

will be carried into Execution. When I inform you, that every poſſible Precaution is taken to ſupport the Dignity of your Office; that upon Application from the Civil Magiſtrate at the Tower, the Savoy, or the War-Office, he will find a Military Force ready to march to his Aſſiſtance, and to act according as he ſhall find it expedient and neceſſary, I need not add, that if the publick Peace is not preſerved, and if any riotous Proceedings, which may happen, are not ſuppreſſed, the Blame will, moſt probably, be imputed to a Want of prudent and ſpirited Conduct in the Civil Magiſtrate. As I have no Reaſon to doubt your Caution and Diſcretion in not calling for Troops till they are wanted; ſo, on the other hand, I hope you will not delay a Moment calling for their Aid, and making uſe of them effectually where there is Occaſion; that Occaſion always preſents itſelf, when the Civil Power is trifled with and inſulted; nor can a Military Force ever be employed to a more conſtitutional Purpoſe, than in the Support of the Authority and Dignity of Magiſtracy. I am, &c.

********.

P. S. I have, for the greater Caution, ſent Copies of this Letter to the Members for the Borough, and Mr. Pownall. If you ſhould have received no Directions from lord Onſlow for a Meeting, you will conſider this as ſufficient Authority for that Purpoſe.

Daniel Ponton, eſq. Chairman of the Quarter-Seſſions, at Lambeth.

Of the Nature and Tendency of ſuch a Warrant as this, ſee alſo Note III. Appendix of my firſt Sermon.

NOTE III.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

St. James's, March 11. 1769.

HIS Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to extend his Royal Mercy to Edward M'Quirk, found guilty of the Murder of George Clarke, as appears by the Royal Warrant to the Tenor following.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a Doubt has ariſen in our Royal Breaſt concerning the Evidence of the Death of George Clarke, from the Repreſentations of William Bromfield, Eſq; Surgeon, and Solomon Starling, Apothecary; *both* of whom, as has been repreſented to us, *attended* the Deceaſed before his Death, and expreſſed their Opinions that he did not die of the Blow he received at Brentford. And whereas it appears to us, that *neither* of the ſaid Perſons were produced

duced as *Witneſſes* upon *the trial*, though the ſaid Solomon Starling had been examined before the Coroner, and the *only* Perſon called to prove that the Death of the ſaid George Clarke was occaſioned by the ſaid Blow, was John Foot, Surgeon, *who never ſaw the Deceaſed till after his Death*; we thought fit thereupon to refer the ſaid Repreſentations, together with the Report of the Recorder of our City of London, of the Evidence given by Richard and William Beale, and the ſaid John Foot, on the Trial of Edward Quirk, otherwiſe called Edward Kirk, otherwiſe called Edward M'Quirk, for the Murder of the ſaid Clarke, to the Maſter, Wardens, and the reſt of the Court of Examiners of the Surgeons Company, *commanding them* likewiſe to take ſuch *further Examination of the ſaid Perſons ſo repreſenting*, and of *ſaid John Foot*, as they might think neceſſary, together with the Premiſſes above-mentioned, to form and report to us their Opinion. "Whether it did or did not "appear to them, that the ſaid George Clarke died in "Conſequence of the Blow he received in the Riot at "Brentford, on the 8th of December laſt," And the ſaid Court of Examiners of the Surgeons Company having thereupon reported to us their Opinion, "That it did not "appear to them that he *did*;" We have thought proper to extend our Royal Mercy to him the ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Edward Kirk, otherwiſe called Edward M'Quirk, and to grant him our free Pardon for the Murder of the ſaid George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty; Our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, That he the ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe called Edward Kirk, otherwiſe called Edward M'Quirk, be inſerted, for the ſaid Murder, in our firſt and next general Pardon that ſhall come out for the poor Convicts of Newgate, *without any Condition whatſoever*; and that in the mean Time you take *Bail* for his Appearance, in order to plead our ſaid Pardon. And for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 10th Day of March, 1769, in the Ninth Year of our Reign.

By His Majeſty's Command.

ROCHFORD.

To our truſty and well-beloved James Eyre, Eſq; Recorder of our City of London, the Sheriffs of our ſaid City and County of Mdidleſex, and all others whom it may concern.

NOTE IV.

Some Reflexions upon the Pardon of M'Quirk; as whether ſuch a Perſon could be a proper Object of Mercy; or whether it proceeded from ſome other Motives.

If *M'Quirk* were an Object of Mercy, he muſt appear ſo, not from the ill-founded *Suppoſition* that he was not the Murderer of *Mr. Clarke*, becauſe we ſhall ſee, that ſuch a Suppoſition cannot be admitted; or, if admitted, can go no farther then raiſing a Doubt, which alone can never make a Man an Object of Mercy, without ſome *real* or *poſitive* Marks of Innocence, or of a Diſpoſition contrary to the *Nature* of his CRIME.

In the *firſt* Place the *Suppoſition*, that he was not the Murderer of Mr. Clarke, or that the Blow he gave him did not kill him, or prove the Cauſe of his Death, is no way reaſonable, or has no Foundation. For Mr. *Wm. Beale*, one of the *Evidence*, ſwears, both before the *Coroner* and upon the *Trial*, that Mr. *Clarke* declared from the Beginning of his Illneſs "that he believed the *Blow* he "received at Brentford would be the Cauſe of his Death" —now let me aſk—Is not the Evidence of a Perſon *injured*, who has declared that he ſhould die of the *Injury* he complained of, and *dies* accordingly, having no *other Diſorders*, but what ſuch an *Injury* might produce, which are always the *Conſequences* of it, and certain *Symptoms* of Death proceeding from ſuch Injury, is not this Evidence ſufficient to convince a REASONABLE and HONEST *Jury*, or any *private* Man, that rejudges the Cauſe with Reaſon and Honeſty, what was the Cauſe of his Death?—There ſeems to be no Occaſion for the Opinion of Surgeons in a Caſe ſo clear in *Law*, as this.——But if after the Death of Mr. *Clarke* this *Declaration* of his made before Witneſs, ſhould be confirmed by the *Evidence* of an able SURGEON, and yet another Perſon (ſuppoſe a Surgeon) ſhould be baſe enough to ſuggeſt *(for † prove I am ſure he cannot)* the *contrary*; is the bare *Suggeſtion* of ONE Man to be admitted againſt the *Evidence* of TWO?—A Man too, who might *be paid*, or *expect to be paid*, for his *Suggeſtion*, and who never offered himſelf as an *Evidence* in Court; or attended upon the *Coroner's* Inqueſt. But if he had; is his Evidence to be admitted againſt the

† See Mr. Foot's Appeal to the Publick—*Ingram* Diſſected, &c, and a Letter to Mr. Ingram.

clear

clear Evidence of Mr. *Clarke*, and that too confirmed by the *Fact*, or Event, which from his Sufferings he predicted, his Death? Could not Mr. *Clarke* give a better Account of what *he* felt from his *Illneſs*, than any *Surgeon* could for him? Is not a Man *himſelf* the beſt Judge of *what he feels?* And is not his own Account to be credited in ſuch a Caſe before that of another, and moſt eſpecially if that other be his Adverſary?

As yet then, there appears no *reaſonable* Foundation for *Doubt* from this *Quarter*. But admitting that this *Man's Suggeſtion* went ſo far as to *raiſe* a DOUBT, yet a Doubt carries with it no Manner of Recommendation; and can never of itſelf make a Man an Object of Mercy and Commiſeration—If it be ſuppoſed ſo to do—I think I have a Right as a *Divine* of the Church of *England*, and a *Caſuiſt* lawfully authoriſed, to reaſon a little upon the Nature and Conſequences of ſuch *Sort* of Doubts, leſt they ſhould be drawn into a *Precedent*, and happen more than once. In Spite therefore of all *Methodiſt* TEACHERS and CONFESSORS (who in the Dominion they may have over ſome People's Conſciences, hold a Place very ſimiliar to *Popiſh* Confeſſors) I do *ex Officio* affirm, that in a Caſe of *doubting*, there is always at leaſt as much *Evidence* on *one Side* as on the *other*. For otherwiſe one of the *Scales* would preponderate, and then it would be a *Doubt* no longer: ſo that while it is a *Doubt*, the *Evidence* on both Sides is of equal *Force*; and therefore the Forces being equal, and contrary, they muſt, by all the Rules of Caſuiſtry, as well as *Mechanicks*, deſtroy each other. Now in this Caſe the *Progreſs* of the *human Underſtanding* is ſuch, (for I am not ſpeaking of other Underſtandings) that the *Mind* muſt have Recourſe to ſome *other Expedient*, and fetch it's Information from another Quarter.

To make the *Malefactor* then abovementioned, upon his *own Account*, an *Object* of Mercy (letting aſide the canvaſſing of the Matter, for which he was condemned) he ſhould have appeared to have been in *other Reſpects* a Perſon clear of all *Imputations* of this Sort; never before diſpoſed to *Violence*, nor uſed to *Violence*: for otherwiſe his *Pardon* muſt proceed from other *Motives*, and not from any Thing *pityable* in his own Character; which *Motives*, though as apparent as the Sun at Noon-day, it may be more proper to *gueſs* at, for the preſent, than to *name*, as *Murderers* have ſuch powerful Friends, and the Laws of *England*, in puniſhing their Accomplices, are not ſo full, or ſo well executed as they ought to be.

For ſo far was this *Aſſaſſin* from being an Object of Com-

paſſion, that he appears to have been *hardened* in his Crime, and a *Ruffian* by Profeſſion; that his *Trade* and Practice has been *Violence*; that he ſhould have been *indicted* again on the 7th of laſt April, but that the *corrupt* Part of the County being on the *Jury* rejected the *Bill*; that he now actually ſtands indicted for another moſt barbarous Murder committed at the ſame Time with that of Mr. *Clarke's*, on the Body of Mr. *Hopkin's*; and, therefore, the Man who raiſed thi Doubt in the *Mammâ Regiâ*, or Royal Breaſt, to prevent his Execution, ought to pay the Debt to Society for the Loſs of its Subjects in his own Perſon, and though he ſhould turn out to be an *Holy Methodiſt*, ſuffer in his ſtead.

The following *Extracts* from the publick Papers ſhew the Truth of theſe Aſſertions.

I. Whereas Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Kirk, otherwiſe M'Quirk, was lately convicted of the Murder of George Clarke, and received a free Pardon, and was bailed out of Newgate: And whereas a Bill of Indictment was yeſterday preferred to the Grand Jury of the County of Middleſex, at Hicks's-Hall, and found to be a true Bill, againſt the ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Kirk, otherwiſe M'Quirk, for the Murder of George Hopkins, (late Headborough of the Pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch) at Brentford, on the 8th Day of December laſt: And whereas the ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Kirk, otherwiſe M'Quirk, having been ſo diſcharged on Bail, did not appear to plead his Pardon:

That he may not, by ſuch means, eſcape being brought to Trial, any Perſon who can give intelligence of the ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Kirk, otherwiſe M'Quirk, ſo that he may be apprehended, ſhall receive a Reward of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS, to be paid by me.

CHA. MARTIN.

St. Martin's-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields, May 13, 1769.

N. B. The ſaid Edward Quirk, otherwiſe Kirk, otherwiſe M'Quirk, is a very tall and ſtrong Iriſhman, uſually plied as a Chairman in and about Covent-Garden, but ſometimes worked as a Coalheaver, and is commonly called the Infant. *Gazetteer*, *May* 17. *p.* 1.

II. It appeared to the Jurors on the Coroner's Inqueſt, taken upon the Body of Mr. George Hopkins, Headborough, of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 4th of January laſt; that while at Brentford (December 8.) he received, from ſome Perſon or Perſons unknown, ſeveral violent blows, during the Diſturbance there, which muſt have been wilfully

wilfully given him; and that ſince that Time, and from thoſe Blows, he had lingered in great Pain twenty-ſix Days, when he died in great Agony. *Middleſex Journal, May* 18.

III. The Piece of Scull taken from the Head of the unfortunate Mr. George Hopkins, who was murdered at Brentford on December 8, laſt, is larger than a Crown Piece, and is now in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Meadows, late Surgeon of his Majeſty's Ship the Experiment, who lives near the New-Inn Yard, Holloway-Mount, Shoreditch. *Gazetteer, May* 16.

Upon the Whole, this ſeems to be a black Affair. And if People can be tame Spectators of ſuch Outrages as theſe, and wrap themſelves up in a falſe Security, making a Sort of Merit of beholding with Indifference the Death and Calamities of their *Fellow-ſubjects*, uſing, as though it was a Mark of Prudence, ſuch Sayings as theſe—*It is no Concern of mine*;---*for my Part I never meddle or make*---Which Speech, if it means any Thing, implies, that theſe Villainies may, for any Thing they care, be tranſacted with Impunity; they muſt not wonder, ſince by thus betraying the common Safety, they richly deſerve it, if they ſee occaſionally thoſe very Scenes of Blood and Violence introduced into their own Families, which they now can behold with ſuch unfeeling Negligence in the Families of their diſtracted Neighbours. To ſtop the bloody Current of the Times, I have a Word of Advice to offer both to the horrid Attendants of the preſent ſtaring, ſtupid, purblind Tyranny, and theſe infatuated *paſſive* Advocates for their Barbarities, which ſhall not be delivered in ſuch ſtrict and abſtruſe Reaſoning, but that the *great* VULGAR, and the ſmall, if they have *Ears to hear* may apprehend it. There are I perceive ignorant People in all Stations and Conditions; and for the Benefit of theſe there is an antient Kind of Inſtruction, called, in the Language of Scripture, a *Parable*, which was much in Uſe in the Times of the *Prophets*, eſpecially when there was any *Danger* in ſpeaking the Truth; and therefore to avoid *Offenſe*, frequently adopted by our Saviour himſelf: Therefore I ſuppoſe that I may without the Hazard of *Ridicule* or *Correction* follow, upon ſuch an Occaſion, his Example.

NOTE V.

A Parable againſt Murder: being a Supplement to the 6th Chap. of the Book of Wiſdom, beginning at the 25th Verſe, newly tranſlated from an Oriental Manuſcript.

25. Receive therefore Inſtructions through my Words, and it ſhall do you Good---A Proverb deceiveth the Wrath of the Mighty, and the Uſe of Similitudes, giveth Light to the Simple. 26. Know therefore and underſtand. For it came

came to paſs in the Reign of Rehoboam, the Son of Solomon, when there was a *Falling-off* in *Iſrael*; that certain young Men of the King's Houſehold, Men of *Belial*, had laid Hands upon a Man of Iſrael at the Door of the *Tabernacle* of the *Congregation*, and had put him in Bands.

27 And the Men of Iſrael were grieved for the Man, and ſaid, behold now, this is not according to the * *Manner* of the KINGDOM which was *written in the* BOOK, by *Samuel* the Prophet, and laid up before the Lord, in the Preſence of *Saul* the KING of *Iſrael*, when they made him *King* in *Gilgal*.

28. And a *ſmall Company* of the Men of Iſrael, when they heard theſe Words, went out into the *Plain* of *Jericho*, beyond *Jordan*, to ſee the *Man*; and ſpake kindly to the Man. And there was neither *Sword* nor *Staff* in the *Hands* of the Men of Iſrael.

29. Now it was ſo, that the Men af *Judah* began to be at Variance with the Men of *Iſrael*, and the Words of the Men of *Judah* were fiercer than the Words of the Men of *Iſrael*.

30. And the Men of *Judah* placed great Confidence in a Lion, and they ſaid that it was the Lion of *Judah*, giving out that he was bred among them; and they were delighted with the ſame, inſomuch that they painted his Image upon their Banners, and ſet him up for a Token when they went to War.

31. And

I.* The X Sam. 10. 25. Then SAMUEL told the *People* the *Manner* of the KINGDOM, and *wrote it in a Book*, and *and laid it up before the Lord*, &c. &c. The *Hebrew* is *Miſhpat Hameluchah*, rather the *Settlement*, or *Determination* of the KINGDOM—this BOOK was the *Magna Charta* of the Jews. It appears from this remarkable Paſſage, Iſt. That the *Kingdom* of ISRAEL was *Elective* from the Beginning, and founded upon a *Compact* between *Saul* and the *People*, wherein *Samuel* was the *Mediator* and the Witneſs---it was *laid up before the Lord* by him.---What if there were ſuch an Officer now, as the Keeper of the Magna Charta---the SPARTAN *Ephorus* was an uſeful Man about a King.

II. It appears from hence that ſome of the People oppoſed this *Form* of *Government*, and were diſpleaſed with the *Choice*---For they ſaid, *how ſhall this Man ſave us?* And *they deſpiſed him, and brought him no Preſents* Perhaps refuſed to pay their *Taxes*---*but he held his Peace*-- had little to ſay for himſelf---was obliged to pacify them, Ch. XI. would not let a *Man be put to Death*— V. 15. could not be crowned till he had made an Agreement with them by *Peace-offerings*, which held the Place of a *Coronation Oath*.

31. And the Colour of the Lion, even of the Lion which was painted, was red as Blood: but the Lion of Judah ſhould not be ſo.

32. And it came to paſs, that while the Company of the Men of Iſrael were thus gazing upon the Plain, *a Lion* and *Tygreſs* were let looſe upon them, and ſlew many of them, and thoſe that fell down by the Way ſide were about fourteen Souls.

33. And the Name of the *Tygreſs*, that was ſo named of the People of the Land, was *Bereſhith Ketonah Veſonah*.

34. And the *young* Men, even the *young Men*, the *Counſellors of* Rehoboam and his *Servants*, and his *Scribes*, mocked the Men of Iſrael. and ſaid be not diſmayed.

35. As for the Lion, behold he is a *good* Lion; for *he eateth Graſs like an Ox:* he is the very Lion of *Judah* bred among us on that Side *Jordan*, where there went over a *Ferry-boat* for the People, and the † *Overflowing of the River hath cauſed him to come forth into the Fields.*

36 Albeit in his Paſſage he hath ſlain Baruch the Son of Allah, and divers others, yea and certain Women that were great with Child, yet hath he no Enmity to this People, neither is he delighted with the Smell of Man's Blood.

37. And for the Tygreſs who accompanieth him, and hath given him Suck, even the Tygreſs *Bereſhith Ketonah Veſonah*. Behold ſhe hath the Face of a Lamb, and is far more gentle than all the Beaſts of the Field.

38. And the Men of *Iſrael* ſaw, that they were in evil Plight, and they anſwered the Men of Judah roughly, and ſaid we cannot believe your Words.

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† Mr. *Maundrel* in his Deſcription of *Jordan* ſays, that in his Time it was ſo far from overflowing at the Seaſon, that it ran at leaſt two Yards within its Channel. That after having deſcended the outermoſt Bank, you go about a Furlong upon a level Strand, before you come to the immediate Bank of the River. This ſecond Bank is beſet with Buſhes and Trees, ſo that you can ſee no Water till you have made your Way through them. In this Thicket anciently, and the ſame is reported at this Day, ſeveral Sorts of wild Beaſts are wont to harbour themſelves, who being waſhed out of the *Cover*, it gave Occaſion to that Alluſion. *Jerem.* XLIX, 19. L. 44. *He ſhall come up like a Lion from the Swelling of Jordan.* No ſooner were we arrived at the River and diſmounted, to ſatisfy that Curioſity and Devotion which brought us thither, but we were alarmed by ſome TROOPS of *Arabs* appearing on the other Side, and firing at us— Pag. 62.

39. And

39. And it came to paſs, not long after, that the Time drew nigh when there ſhould be a general Aſſembly of the People, after the Manner of the Children of Iſrael. And the People were gathered together at *Succoth*, which is by Interpretation the Place of a Booth.

40. And it was rumoured that a *Lion* and a *Bear* were coming from the Eaſt, and the Bear went in the high Way by the Side of the Lion, as though he had been *one of his Houſehold*.

41. But the People regarded not the Report. For they ſaid, we are not in the *Wilaerneſs*, nor yet upon the *Plain* of *Jericho*: and from the Time that the Children of Iſrael came out of *Egypt* to this Day was it ever heard that the wild Beaſts of the Field were ſeen at *Succoth*?

42. Nevertheleſs, while they were yet ſpeaking, the Lion and the Bear ruſhed in upon them, and without Reſpect of Perſons, brake all their Bones. But the Remnant of the Men, who had fled for their Lives, returned upon the Bear to ſmite him, and had taken him in their Nets.

43. When behold the Lion ſprang in upon the Men, and protected the Bear, and gnawed the Toils in Pieces, and ſet him at Liberty.

44. Then the People were greatly diſmayed, and remembering the Fate of their Brethren, who were ſlain upon the Plains of *Jericho*, they ſaid one to another, of a Truth the Lion is no Reſpecter of Perſons, is he not therefore a publick Enemy?

45. And Tidings went throughout the Land that the People were all in Danger from the Lion. And there came a Man from the Mount of *Olives*, whoſe Name was *Kerembaal*, but his Kinsfolks, who were *Syro-Phœnicians* by Nation, called him *Krumbel*, the ſame was a mighty Man of Valour, even as *Jephtha*, and as *Gideon*, who judged Iſrael, when the Lord himſelf was their King: and he vowed a Vow unto the Lord, that he would tame the Lion.

46. And there followed him certain Men of the Tribe of Dan, who *loved the Thing that was equal*; and they ſought the Lion in Dens, and in dark Places, and found him at Length in a Cave, which is called in the Hebrew Tongue *Bethcochab*, which is had in Remembrance unto this Day.

47. And behold the Bear ran violently down a Steep Place behind the Cave, and his Bowels guſhed out at his Mouth, and of the Tygreſs there was nothing left, ſave only the Skull, and the Paws of the Fore-feet which were dyed with Blood.

48. And

48. And the Man, even the Man of Mount Olivet, *Kerembaal* by Name, caught the Lion by the Throat, and caſt him into the Place of the Den of Lions.

49. And in the Month *Tebeth*, on the 30th Day of the ſelf-ſame Month, he brought him forth in the Preſence of the People, and did unto him according to his Vow.

50. For he ſaid, even as the Men of Iſrael had ſaid, a Lion ſpareth no Man in his Rage. Can the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots?

51. And the Land had Reſt forty and five Years.

NOTE VI.

The IMPORTANT QUESTION, touching the Rights of the PEOPLE to a *free Choice* of their REPRESENTATIVES, &c.

AMong the *Deficiencies* of the preſent Age, the Want of *Logick*, or the Art of knowing *the Right Uſe of Reaſon*, is greatly to be lamented; as Ignorance of this Sort keeps People bewildered upon Subjects of the higheſt Importance, and engages them often in Abuſe, inſtead of ſtrict Argument, which in the Inveſtigation of Truth never meddles with any Thing, but what belongs to its Subject. To avoid therefore the Inconveniencies which ariſe from Wanderings, I have reduced what may be ſaid upon the Queſtion abovementioned, to *fair* and *direct* SYLLOGISM, ſuppoſing it to have been agitated in the School of *civil* Law at OXFORD, between the *Reſpondent* Dr. BLUESTONE, and the *Opponent* Dr. FREE.

Opponent. SIR, what think you of the *preſent* Queſtion? "Whether or no are the Proceedings of an Houſe of Com-"mons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of "his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, "ſubverſive of the Liberties of the People of England?"

Reſpondent. I *deny* it, (or hold it in the *Negative.*)

Opponent. It is *affirmed*---and therefore you are miſtaken.

Reſpondent. Propoſe your *Argument*, (to ſhew the error.)

Syllogiſm I.

MAJOR { *What deprives the People of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives in Parliament*, *is* totally ſubverſive of the Liberties of the People of England.

MINOR { The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, *deprives the People of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

CONCLUSION. *Ergo.* The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, are totally *ſubverſive* of the Liberties of the People of England.

Reſpondent. I deny the MINOR, (Propoſition).

Opponent. I prove the MINOR.

Syllogiſm II.

MAJOR *What extinguiſhes the free Choice of the Repreſentatives*, deprives the People of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives.

MINOR The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, *extinguiſhes the free Choice of the People.*

CONCLUSION. *Ergo.* The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, deprives the People of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives in Parliament.

Reſpondent. I deny the MINOR.

Opponent. I prove the MINOR.

Syllogiſm III.

MAJOR What *inſiſts upon a Power in the Houſe to pronounce or* RESOLVE *at their Pleaſure, any Man in England to be incapable of a Seat in Parliament; and to reject any Choice which ſhall be made in Oppoſition to ſuch Reſolutions*, extinguiſhes the free Choice of the People.

MINOR The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, *inſiſts upon a Power in the Houſe, to pronounce or reſolve at their Pleaſure, any Man in England, incapable of a Seat in Parliament; and to reject any Choice, which ſhall be made in Oppoſition to ſuch Reſolution.*

CONCLUSION. *Ergo.* The Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in depriving a Man, by their own Authority, of his Seat in Parliament, when not diſqualified by Law, extinguiſhes the free Choice of the People.

Reſpondent. I deny the MAJOR.

Opponent. I prove the MAJOR.

What

Syllogiſm IV.

MAJOR { *What leaves the People no Objects, out of which to chooſe, but by the Permiſſion of the Houſe,* extinguiſhes the free Choice of the People.

MINOR { But what inſiſts upon a Power in the Houſe to pronounce or reſolve at their pleaſure, any Man in England to be incapable of a Seat in Parliament; and to reject any Choice which ſhall be made in Oppoſition to ſuch Reſolution, *leaves the People no Objects, out of which to chooſe, but by the Permiſſion of the Houſe.*

CONCLUSION. { *Ergo.* What inſiſts upon a Power in the Houſe to pronounce or *reſolve,* at their Pleaſure, any Man in England to be incapable of a Seat in Parliament; and to reject any Choice, which ſhall be made in Oppoſition to ſuch Reſolution, extinguiſhes the free Choice of the People.

A Short *Comment* upon the DISPUTATION.

HERE Dr. *Blueſtone* is ſuppoſed to be at a *non plus*, and not able to deny the *Truth* any further: and ſo the DISPUTE is ended among *Logicians*; without *bloody Noſes*, or even *hard words*. If the Reader has a Mind to ſee theſe *Arguments* in a *Form* leſs intricate, they may be exhibited to him, ſtep by ſtep, in the more ſimple Appearance of a *Sorites*, where the *Concluſion* follows the naked *Mediums*, without the Complexity of *Figure*, ſomewhat after the manner of Mathematical Demonſtration. As for example;

Step I. What inſiſts upon a Power in the Houſe of Commons to pronounce or reſolve *at Pleaſure* any Man in England, to be incapable of a Seat in Parliament, and to reject any Choice, which ſhall be made in Oppoſition to that Reſolution, leaves the People no *Objects*, out of which to chooſe, but by the *Permiſſion* of the Houſe.

II. What leaves the People no *Objects* out of which to chooſe, but by the *Permiſſion* of the Houſe, extinguiſhes the *free* Choice of the People.

III. What extinguiſhes the *free* Choice of the People, deprives them of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives.

IV. What deprives them of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives, is totally ſubverſive of the Liberties of the People.

But the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in rejecting a Man by their own Authority, from his Seat in Parliament, when choſen by the Majority of the People, and not diſqua-

lified by Law, deprives them of the free Choice of their Repreſentatives, and,

Therefore, ſuch *Proceedings* are totally ſubverſive of the Liberties of the People of England.

By this *Series* of ARGUMENT, the *Propoſition*, which at the Beginning of the Diſpute was the *Queſtion*, is now a Propoſition *proved*; by which it appears, that the Privilege of Election, ſo *over-ruled*, is not the privilege of Election, which we have hitherto enjoyed under the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; but directly oppoſite to the End and Deſign of that Privilege, which was to give the People a Power of *chooſing*, *paying*, and *maintaining*, an *Attorney* or *Repreſentative* of their own in the *Wittena-gemot*, or *great Council* of the Land, who might be active for the preſervation of their *Rights* and *Privileges*.

Whereas, if the late *Mode* of Proceeding be *conſtitutional*, the *Repreſentative* may be a mere uſeleſs *Cypher*, nay perhaps a detrimental *Cypher*, a *Cypher* that may encreaſe an oppoſite Power. He is not *paid* by the *People*; but perhaps by *ſomebody elſe*; not *elected* by the People, but by the Members of that *Body* called the Houſe, which the People were anciently *accuſtomed* to elect, and to whom, as to a *Court of Delegates*, they never gave this Power of *chooſing* or *excluding* for them. For if the Perſon elected may thus *repeatedly*, as oft as he is choſen, be forbid to act or forbid to ſit, the People can only be ſaid to have the *Nomination*, and not the *Election*. For the *Choice* will always be in the *over-ruling* Power; which in Caſe of *Diſagreement* with the People, or where their own *Intereſt* is concerned, they will never quit, which is a Practice, quite repugnant to the Idea of the *Engliſh Conſtitution*; and let it be founded upon what *Abuſes* of Power, and bad *Precedents*, it will, a LAW ſhould be *made immediately* to put a Stop to it, for the future; and fairly declare, that *the Elections of the People are not to be over-ruled*. In this *written* Law alſo, ſome *Proviſion* ſhould be made againſt another *anti-conſtitutional* Encroachment of the Houſe of Commons, in claiming an *Independency* on the *Laws* of the Land. For if the Houſe of Commons can carry theſe two Points:---*1ſt*. That of *making the Members of their own Houſe themſelves* ---and *2dly*. That of *aſſuming an unlimited Power in their Reſolutions*, or a Power of calling them *Laws*, and thereby placing vague and irregular Counſels above the *permanent* Laws of the Land, to which they may be often as oppoſite, as they are one to another; their *Votes* and *Reſolutions* will be made our *Rule* of Action; both the *Laws* and the *Lawyers* will be of no Conſequence; the *Dictators* will be Maſters without Controul; and the *People* totally enſlaved

to

to an Houſe of Commons: as they in their Turn by Places and Penſions may be enſlaved to the Prince, who will then be *Maſter General of all the Slaves*, which unfolds ſuch a *dreadful Scene*, as, I think, no Man would *wiſh to live to ſee*. A Scene of TYRANNY *compleat* on one Hand; and *univerſal* SLAVERY on the other,---which can never be effected but by the *Corruption* of an Houſe of Commons. And will the honeſt Part of *that Houſe*, will the honeſt *Part* of *this Nation*, conſpire with the abandoned, in enſlaving their own Families? Forbid it Heaven!---For my own Part I am for tranſmitting to *Poſterity*, that ſhare of FREEDOM, which I received from my Anceſtors, and I make theſe Struggles, though forced by OPPRESION into a Station not worth contending for, to ſhew that according to my Power, I am not *unmindful of the general Truſt*, and deſirous to avoid the Infamy of being branded as a *Traitor to their Cauſe*, the *Cauſe* of *future Liberty*, by the *Generations*, that are yet to come.

JOHN FREE.

BOOKS *which have been written by the Rev. Dr.* FREE, *and ſold at his Houſe at* Newington Butts, *and ſuch* Bookſellers *as he appoints.*

HISTORICAL.

1. HISTORY of the *Engliſh* Tongue; with the Author's intended Dedication to his Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, now King George III. PART I. printed in 1749, and containing an Account, I. Of the *Roman* or *Latin* Tongue, as once ſpoken in *Britain*. II. Of the *Britiſh* or *Welſh*, and its antient and preſent *Limits*. III. Of the *Pyhtas*, corruptly called *Picts* by the *Romans*; their Settlement in the *North* of *Britain*; the Original of their Name, and the Nature, Extent, and Duration of their Language. IV. Of the *Scots* from *Ireland*; and the Extent of the *Eerſe* Language; in order to diſtinguiſh it from the *Engliſh* in the *North* of *Britain*, which vulgarly paſſes under the Name of *Broad Scotch*.

N. B. This Book was written by Permiſſion of his late Royal Highneſs FREDERICK Prince of *Wales*, for the Information of his eldeſt Son, now King George III.

THEOLOGICAL.

1. A SERMON on the Being and Providence of God, preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *July* 8, 1739.

2. A SERMON at the ſame Place, *Nov.* 5 1745, when the Rebels were advancing to *Derby*.

3. A *Volume* of SERMONS preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, printed in 1750. With a *Preface* tending to expoſe ſome remarkably bad Practices, both in *Church* and *State*.

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4. His Edition of Mr. *Weſleys* ſecond Letter, *&c.*

5, His Remarks upon Mr. *Jones's* Letter, dedicated to Dr. *Hoadley*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

6. Dr *Free's*

6. Dr. *Free's* whole Speech to the *London* Clergy at *Sion College*, *May* 8, 1759, with a Remonſtrance to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter:* That printed in the *Monitor* is imperfect.

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